

Social Questions Bulletin

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OUR FORMOSAN POLICY'S FOLLY

By GORDON L. BURKE

(The author, from a respected Southern Methodist missionary family in China, and now retired after many years in our government's Far Eastern consular service, was introduced in our October issue. Negotiations for military alliance between our government and that of Chiang Kai-shek have been concluded and that treaty will be before the Senate for ratification when Congress reconvenes in January. If you agree with Mr. Burke add MFSA as to the alliance's folly and danger, write or see your Senators against ratification this month. From the standpoint of war or peace, our military intervention in China's civil war at Formosa and the coastal islands, transcends in importance the highly publicized and U.N.-considered case of our 11 airmen who, with others, are being detained in China on charges of espionage which we deny, on the ground that men would hardly embark on an espionage mission garbed in the military uniform of their country. But we do not deny the existence of a vast, costly wrecking of espionage program in foreign countries under our tax-supported Central Intelligence Agency. We are told that agency approved the detailed account of its doings in the three-chapter Saturday Evening Post article, "The Mysterious Doings of CIA," in the Post issues of October 30, November 6, November 13. That account credits the secretive CIA with violent wrecking activities in foreign lands and with overthrowing disliked governments in Iran, Egypt and Guatemala. While China holds our 11 airmen, we admit we forcibly prevent 35 Chinese students here from returning to their homeland, lest, we say, their skills be used against us. But might not the skills of our airmen be used against the Chinese people? That possibility remains until we end our military intervention there. Our government voted in the U.N. for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and consequently our President asked us Americans to celebrate the 10th of this month "Human Rights Day." It is ironic that one human right affirmed in the Declaration is that of free travel. Why not ask our President, in keeping with that solemn declaration and with the spirit of the Human Rights Day he has proclaimed, to combine request for return of our airmen with offer of free travel to the 35 Chinese students we hold here against their will? And as an even more fundamental contribution to the peace and good will we seek for the earth in the Christmas season, let us ask an end to the provocative and war-threatening intervention at Formosa and in other foreign lands.—Editor.)

Senator William F. Knowland's cry that America must "defend" the diminutive Nationalist held islands along the China coast (which are far distant from the somewhat larger island of Formosa) should awaken Americans at long last to the fact that America, masquerading in the guise of Formosan Nationalists is, and has been, waging an aggressive war against communist China.

The masquerade has been made more deceptive by the euphonious slogan, "Aid to Chiang Kai-shek." The question is not one of aid, but of doing the job for Chiang Kai-shek.

Because there is no such thing as decisive military strength at Formosa, and, the facts of the matter are that the United States, through its Seventh Fleet, is Formosa's sole strength.

That Formosa is a puny island (about the size of Connecticut and Massachusetts with a population approximately that of New York City) is clearly pointed up in the book entitled, "Ores and Industry in the Far East" by H. Foster Bain (one-time chief of the U. S. Bureau of Mines) and vouched for by Allen W. Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and brother of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. "Ores and Industry in the Far East" also explodes the theory of "The Yellow Peril." East Asia does not have the iron to wage a modern mechanized war.

Unbelievable amazing report now current is that progress is being made in "negotiations" for an American "military alliance" with Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Nationalist remnants on Formosa.

The Methodist Federation for Social Action, an unofficial membership organization, seeks to deepen within the Church, the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solutions and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation stands for the complete abolition of war. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges. In seeking these objectives the Federation does not commit its members to any specific program, but remains an inspirational and educational agency, proposing social changes by democratic decision, not by violence.

Such an "alliance" can be compared to a "joint" business enterprise between the inmate of a poor house and a large, prosperous bank.

The United States Seventh Fleet is already under orders to defend Formosa, which for any unbiased American, settles the matter of Formosa's protection.

A repetition of the said order in the new form of a paper "Defense Treaty" can by no stretch of the imagination add to the strength of the defenses of Formosa; nor can it contribute to the American public good, but it would benefit solely Chiang Kai-shek's discredited political clique, by perpetuating in a more binding form the impossible situation which certain members of the Republican administration, backed by the powerful China Lobby, have created on Formosa Island.

That impossible situation being the joint Chiang-American enterprise in which the American taxpayers and their sons who are called upon to be world gladiators continue to bear all the responsibility in an increasingly tense political and military situation; whereas the irresponsible Asiatic "partner" (dependent Chiang Kai-shek) is, in fact, free to instigate, by overt military acts, a Chinese Communist retaliatory attack on Formosa, which would in turn catapult the United States into another "holy war." A situation for which Chiang has long been plotting.

President Eisenhower, in his protestations of honorable peace for America, apparently is unaware of these Chiang plottings, aided and abetted by certain Americans, and the powder keg on which he is sitting.

Americans have no security when that security is dependent upon the success or failure of the offensive maneuvers from an alien source (Chiang Kai-shek) to incite Chinese Communist madness to retaliate on Formosa in order to effect the involvement of the U.S.A.

Americans have no security when that security is dependent on whether the Chinese Communists suddenly decide to make a mad but understandable effort to eliminate the Chiang Kai-shek factor.

The Chinese Communist must recognize that the United States gained the right to control Formosa through military conquest from Japan.

However, the Chinese Communist do have a legitimate right to protest the use of Formosa as a base of military operations against the Chinese mainland, which is in Chiang Kai-shek's oft-declared intention to "reconquer."

If President Eisenhower and the Republican administration endorse Chiang Kai-shek's avowed warlike intention against the China mainland, then President Eisenhower owes it to his country to say so frankly in order that the American people may not be again taken by surprise as they were at Pearl Harbor.

In so far as the American public is concerned, U. S. warnings to Red China are misleading, unless the Republican administration openly declares its attitude regarding Chiang's announced objective of "reconquering" mainland China.

An agreement with South Korea has meaning as the territory of South Korea helps to defend worthwhile Japan, whose defensive powers we recklessly destroyed.

A high Department of State official has, according to news-

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Appeal Against The Hydrogen Bomb

(At the World Council of Churches Assembly last summer we were greatly impressed, through Kagawa and others, by the apparent unanimity and intensity of Japanese Christian conviction against the atomic-hydrogen bombs and against further tests. The following appeal was addressed to the Christians of the U.S.A. by the entire United Church of Christ in Japan. After this appeal was sent one of the fishermen died as a result of the radiation from the hydrogen test. The California-Nevada Methodist Conference and others have asked for an end to all such tests. Mr. Churchill recently told the English Parliament that enough of such tests would poison the earth's atmosphere for 5,000 years. A group of American scientists proposed that, if we insist on conducting such destructive tests, we do so in our own territory, so that we, and not distant and innocent peoples, will bear the consequences of our deed. At the UN, Mr. Menon, for India, asked an end to all such hydrogen bomb tests. Both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. voted to join in a renewed search for an agreed disarmament program, but neither government accepted India's proposal against further bomb tests. We have indicated our plan to continue further such tests in the months ahead. Do the Christmas story and season inspire us to further effort for peace on earth and good will among men? Are we moved by the appeal from our fellow-Christians of Japan? If so, let us write and urge President Eisenhower, who has power to do so, to contribute to the further easing of tensions by accepting India's proposal for an end to the bomb tests in this important period of our search with the U.S.S.R. and others in the U.N. for an agreed and workable disarmament plan.)

* * *

Statement by the United Church of Christ in Japan

Dear Christian Friends:

You, no doubt, know that the people of Japan were greatly shocked by the incident of 23 Japanese fishermen being seriously injured due to the hydrogen bomb test carried out by your country at Bikini Atoll on March 1st of this year. As the result of the test, not only are these fishermen still suffering from strong radioactive poisoning, but fishing, which is one of the important industries of our island, has been dealt a severe blow; the food situation has been greatly threatened as the Japanese depend mostly on fish for animal protein, and the people have fallen into a state of insecurity for fear that if such experiments are continued, greater calamities will assail them. Moreover, the people are very indignant over the attitude your government has taken in regard to this incident.

However, as Christians and as citizens of the country that has sustained damage three times from the atomic and hydrogen bombs, we cannot help but have great misgivings over the existence itself of such terrible weapons. We feel that such weapons will destroy the thing which your country is trying to defend at the risk of war, and that it is a menace to all humanity before it is a threat to your enemy. That is not all. Is it not a great challenge to the spirit of Christianity that your government is urging the production of such weapons because it feels that under some circumstances it will be necessary to use them? We do not think that it is God's will for man, who was created by Him, to produce and store up such weapons which have the power to efface all mankind. Therefore, the problem of atomic-hydrogen bombs is today the most acute problem of Christian ethics as well as a political and military one. In that sense, are not the churches in America being severely questioned as never before by God and by the people of the world concerning their responsibility? If the churches of America do not show a definite attitude in regard to this problem, we fear that the people of Japan will no longer give heed to what the missionaries, who are sent out by your country, preach. We hope you will understand that your churches can make a contribution to the evangelization of Japan, not only by sending people and money, but even more by setting an example of unflinching Christian conscience. We hope that your churches will pray for Japan, which is in the midst of insecurity, and at the same time, we hope that you will strive to move your government to discontinue immediately the atomic-hydrogen bomb tests, and furthermore, to prohibit such production.

We realize that we must not appeal only to you with regard to this matter, but also to Soviet Russia, Great Britain and other countries which possess atomic and hydrogen bombs and to their churches. We desire that the voice opposing atomic-hydrogen bombs will become the united voice of all the churches of the world, and we anticipate that the Second World Council of Churches, which will soon convene, will serve as a good opportunity for the churches of the world to take this problem up in earnest.

We pray without ceasing that the churches of your country, which occupy an influential place of leadership and responsibility among the world churches, will exert their utmost effort for this purpose.

WHAT THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION MEANS TO ME

It has long seemed to me that the best hope for a fairer future consists in a union between progressive politics and prophetic religion. They do best together. The tragedy of the first without the second is instanced in Norman Thomas Socialism which departs from the fray as though the Kingdom had come! The tragedy of the second without the first is seen in the suburban preacher who reads the Christian Century, preaches from Isaiah, and votes Republican.

This writer was first exposed to progressive politics in the rural schools of Wisconsin at a tender age. Prophetic religion came later. Those were the days of Bob LaFollette the elder. He had placed his mark on the advanced social laws of the state and even on the school curriculum. The Wisconsin school boy knew that his state was leading the column of history and he was proud of it.

Religious meetings were rare in the region of my boyhood and such as they were, majored in noise and revivalism. Those tub thumpers had not ever heard of LaFollette!

I was 22 years of age before I had any exposure to prophetic religion and that was at a national Methodist Student Conference in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1924. What a bingel! Stanley High presided and the heroes of the occasion were Hal Luccock and Bishop McConnell. These men laid prophetic religion alongside progressive politics stirring me to my depths and I have not been the same since. Obviously, Luccock and McConnell were bearing witness to the principles of the Federation, hence for better or for worse I am what I am today because of MFSA.

To me the MFSA is a fellowship of ministers and laymen who have come of age in the issues that matter. Wherever across the church, I have met them they possess that basic social understanding which is better than knowledge. In significant programs of action, knowledge will come and fill in the gaps if prophetic understanding is there to begin with. In the altogether too rare forays this writer has taken into dangerous social situations he came back having the New Testament as he did not before, above all that unfashionable word of Jesus: "Woe unto you when all men speak well of you." In one of our hymns is the phrase, "The rebel sigh." The Federationist is a rebel who can't "raise hell" as worldlings can. And yet he doesn't take it out in sighing and sadness. He rebels against the things God hates, attaining to an ineffable sublimation in the service of true and noble ends.

EDWARD L. PEET.

DISARMAMENT OR REARMAMENT, WHICH?

While our spokesmen in the U.N. vote to seek disarmament and profess desire to abate the arms race, in Germany we press a rearmament for which the German trade unionists and people appear to have little stomach. Does not remilitarization in Germany intensify, rather than abate, the arms race? Does not German rearmament contradict and impede world disarmament? The treaty to rearm West Germany (to which the East would retaliate) goes to our Senate next month. Let your senators hear from you.

THE BISHOPS' STATEMENT

The Council of Bishops of The Methodist Church, meeting in Chicago, November 18-21, 1954, sends greetings to the church and affirms the following convictions:

I

The historic decision of the Supreme Court abolishing segregation in the public school system is in keeping with the attitude of The Methodist Church. In our official pronouncements, including the Social Creed and the Episcopal Address adopted by the 1952 General Conference, our position has been clearly stated.

The Supreme Court recognized that such a ruling brought with it difficulties of enforcement, and therefore, made provision for sufficient time to implement its decision. The declaration of the decision was made in the magnificent home of the Supreme Court in Washington, but the ultimate success of the ruling will be determined in the hearts of the people of the nation. Thus the church is furnished with an unequalled opportunity to provide leadership during this period in support of the principles involved in the action of the court.

We accept this responsibility, for one of the foundation stones of our faith is the belief that all men are brothers, equal in the sight of God. In that faith, we declare our support of the ruling of the Supreme Court.

II

The Evanston assembly of the World Council of Churches has rejoiced our hearts and strengthened our faith. This living symbol of our Christian heritage and unity is the best hope of our time. We delight to be a part of the world-wide church and pledge to the fellowship our prayers, our loyalty, and our support. The unity of men through diversity, so wonderfully symbolized by the Christian churches, is the sign pointing to the healing of the nations.

III

The proposal of universal military training threatens to rise again. Yet within our own lifetime, those who were the first to take the sword have perished by it. Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan were not saved by military training. Their very domination by the military way of life evoked a false sense of security and a disregard for spiritual values. The church is concerned with our survival as a democracy penetrated by Christian values. Militarism as a way of life is a foe of democracy and our forefathers fled to these shores to escape it. We call upon our people to prevent any attempt to fasten peacetime conscription on the American people.

IV

To create and foster a climate in which men may dwell together as brothers is our business. We commend heartily the efforts of President Eisenhower to create a more effective framework of international co-operation and understanding. Upon another occasion, we applauded his offer to share atoms for peaceful, humanitarian purposes. We believe that the urgency in such co-operation is a signal need of our time.

V

We endorse the refugee resettlement program now being sponsored by the Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief. We appeal to our Methodist people to provide sufficient sponsorships to care for the 4,000 refugees who constitute our responsibility out of the 209,000 people who are anticipated as seeking homes in the United States under the 1953 Refugee Relief Act. We believe that the sponsoring of these families by a church or individual Methodists becomes a privilege and a source of spiritual joy.

A MOST PRESSING SOCIAL ACTION ISSUE

Sometimes I fancy that the devil's secret weapon is triviality. In any event it is the supreme social sickness of our age. We see it in the reluctance of the political parties to face up to the larger issues of Peace and Civil Liberties. In the recent election in one state the Nation said that the senatorial candidates "would make fairly mediocre councilmen in a sixth class city." Petty theories occupy the best seats on the front pages of our papers. Solemn sons of Demosthenes hold millions spellbound on the

TV as they insist upon Zipzap hair tonic as the only thing that stands between us and the deluge. It is said that half the newspapers would be out of business were it not for the sports page. Comic books pass for literature with the Readers Digest serving as the high water mark of the cultured man's routine. The vast majority of men and women have been schooled in the relevancy of the irrelevant, the importance of the unimportant, and the significance of the insignificant!

In the prophet's book this is all idolmongering. Habbakuk said: "Woe unto him that saith to the wood, Awake; to the dumb stone, Arise it shall teach!"

And one day Elijah took on Baalim and all his henchmen. The ponderous trivialities of our day are idols. Would that we could be shown how to sweep them out of the temple of our civilization! Until we do so, it is going to be tough going for the "weightier matters of the law."

EDWARD L. PEET.

OUR ACTIVE OREGON CHAPTER

The continuously active nature of our Oregon MFSA Chapter's study and action program is seen in the following outline of Sunday evening seminars and programs for December and January:

Dec. 5th—"A FAITH TO FREE THE PEOPLE." Book Review of Cedric Belfrage's great story of the life of the Reverend Claude Williams, recently deposed minister of the Presbyterian Church on charges of heresy and "following the Communist Party line."

Dec. 12th—"WORK OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS' SERVICE COMMITTEE IN MEXICO." Speaker, Mr. Wilson Hartzler who participated in the project.

Dec. 19th—CHRISTMAS PARTY! AMATEUR NIGHT! CHRISTMAS CAROLS! Leave that pet peeve at home! Bring out that special song and dance you have been saving for such an occasion! This is a time for rejoicing as we celebrate the birth of the Man of Nazareth, the world's greatest lover of mankind! Program so far: Vocal solo, Joe Ray; harmonica solo, Clarence Bergquist; Gresham Tub-band ensemble, Dr. Corinne Chamberlin, director.

Jan. 9th—"Syngman Rhee and Korea"—tentative.

Jan. 16th—"CANADIAN COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION." Presentation of its history, as well as recent political and economic developments in this great neighbor to the north.

Jan. 23rd—"SALT OF THE EARTH." Script from this great Labor Movie will be presented by a local cast of our members and friends. Place to be announced.

Jan. 30th—DR. HARRY F. WARD. One of the great social prophets and leaders of this century. One of the founders of M.F.S.A. and for over 35 years its executive secretary. Formerly professor Union Theological Seminary.

Dr. Ward will also lead a seminar for three evenings on the subject, "The Attack On Religious Freedom." Monday, January 31st, "History of the Attack"; Tuesday, "Its Meaning for the Future of Religion"; Wednesday, "Its Relation to the Total Attack on the Bill of Rights."

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BEHIND THE HEADLINES

When 1954 was coming in, this column assessed the prospects it brought for more peace and more democracy—two objectives demanded by our religion. The judgment was, there could be no peace as long as rearmament outweighed disarmament; no road to peace opened until the fact of coexistence and the necessity for peaceful coexistence were accepted as the basis for our foreign policy. Concerning democracy, the conclusion was that increasing repression, and its use in partisan politics, made 1954 a year of decision on the vital question—to be or not to be, the police state.

Now that the year is on the way out, where does it leave us on these two destiny determining points?

One way or another West Germany is to be rearmed. That is determined by the vote of the British Parliament and the bipartisan agreement in Washington. Until the plan is technically complete by final French action and West German acceptance of the personal agreement on the Saar, there is to be no negotiation with the Soviet Union, nor between the two Germanies on unity, free elections, withdrawals of foreign troops. Rearmament will include East Germany and reduces the chance of agreement almost to zero.

A rearmed, divided Germany brings a continuous hazard of civil and world war. It cancels out all the official talk about peaceful coexistence in England and here. Washington has begun to plan for a long period of another form of the cold war. Instead of economic cooperation for mutual benefit, and mutual aid to undeveloped peoples through the U.N., it is thinking in terms of economic competition for control of the natural resources of these peoples under the guise of economic aid.

The answer to the question about the police state was given by the Communist Party of last July. That act of any organization or person for sympathy with any communist objective, and there is no social reform which the Communist Party has not in some way supported. Thus it aims at complete thought control and the suppression of all activities which extreme reaction calls creeping socialism. Its enforcement will require a host of political police, with the accompaniment of multiplied espionage and paid, perjured informer witnesses. This is the traditional apparatus of the police state.

The spirit of the police state was manifest in the way the communist control bill was put through, and again in the way the rearmament of West Germany is being put over by anti-democratic means. Our Congress enacted a law which changes the nature of our political system without knowing its provisions. In the Senate "deliberative body in the world." there was only one copy available, and the bill was 98 pages long. The almost unanimous vote in the House was the action of a mass meeting not a parliamentary body. All the members knew was that they were voting against communism and an election was calling them home. So the Bill of Rights was torn up and the democratic process thrown out.

The bi-partisan agreement on the main objective of our policy means that West Germany is on the way to being rearmed with no adequate discussion or knowledge of the issue, by the electorate. Without knowledge, democracy ceases to function.

The long range outcome is that basic economic change in Germany is pushed toward decision by civil war and away from accomplishment by the democratic process. Thus our policy moves in the opposite direction from its proclaimed objective to prevent the overthrow of governments by force and violence.

Guatemala is the complete example for all the world to see and understand. There is no question about our having aided and abetted the overthrow of a legally constituted government by force and violence. What way is now open for the majority to regain their rights, the peasants their land, the workers their labor organizations, except by counter force and violence? If this policy, with some variations, is now to be repeated in South Vietnam, and elsewhere, there can be no peaceful solution of the world's problem. Democracy and peace are indivisible. If every move of a people toward a socialist economy is to be labelled, and dealt with by us as indirect Soviet aggression, called "conquest by stealth instead of war," then both democracy and peace are lost.

It is time for those sections of religion who want an end to war and repression to ask themselves how much they are using the measure of freedom that still remains to them. Have they done anything about the rearming of West Germany, or the communist control bill? Are they planning to do anything about these matters when the next Congress meets? If they have expressed, or will express, their judgments on paper, have they gotten, or will they get, these words to those who have to act? Especially to those of their own members who sit in the seats of decision?

If despite their expressions, all Germany is rearmed, they have one chance, and only one, to prevent fatal results. That is to secure the beginning of disarmament.

On the Communist Control Act, agitation for repeal, no dependence on the Supreme Court, is called for. Sufficient of the former might secure a favorable decision from the latter. Surely the history of our days has given us enough warning of how people lost their freedom by not using it. H.F.W.

POIGNANT WORDS FOR CHRISTMAS

By W. W. REID

The real "subversives" are those who give other peoples cause to fear us and therefore to increase their armaments who say that war is the only solution for differences and tensions. To say that war must always be, to do nothing for peace, is to deny the power of the moral law and to keep force on the throne of the world. That is betrayal of the whole human race—and of God. Peace is too precious to leave to the devisers of new tools, to "pure" scientists, to the morally or ethically bankrupt, to those who fear men more than God.

First, we need to create trust and goodwill and understanding and belief among nations. It can be done by a multiplicity of small acts of trust, respect for differences, efforts to understand another's experiences, problems, fears.

Once trust has been established, then nations can sit down together and plan the next steps toward peace: the outlawing of weapons of terror; the reduction of armaments; the diversion of money from arms to the social and economic betterment of men; the eventual establishment of world order.

There are a hundred ways in which Americans can begin to wage peace: by statesmen refraining from bragging, threatening, "rushing into print" with inflammatory speeches; by making pacts that are not related to military bases and self-interest; by opening doors more generously to the refugees of all lands; by being sensitive to every word and act that might be misunderstood abroad; by lessening trade barriers; by organizing a department of peace in the President's cabinet.

OUR FORMOSAN POLICY'S FOLLY

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paper reports, declared that starvation in China is beginning to create political complications for the Communist overlords, and that hence "the economic embargo of Communist China is beginning to pay off."

An important American patriotic organization has declared as its belief that "if we (Americans) are able to starve Red China and shrivel her economy, such action will eventually drive the Chinese within Red China to arise and overthrow their Communist oppressors."

That America can gain political ends in China through starvation is questionable. For starvation is one of the less vulnerable modes of gaining political success in China, as the Chinese through the centuries have become more or less inured to starvation.

Aside from the political aspects of the question, is it any more moral for Americans to starve the unoffending Chinese men, women and children for a political end than it is for their Russian masters to starve the unoffending Russian men, women and children for a political end?

The starving of the Russian masses for political ends being repugnant to Americans, was magnificently denounced by Americans. However, it seems that when a political end is the goal Communist Russians and Democratic Americans act alike. Human nature has world-wide flaws.